Great Britain & Ireland

K.

REGULATIONS

OF

PAROCHIAL POLICE,

COMBINED WITH THE

Military and Naval Armaments.

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REGULATIONS

OF

PAROCHIAL POLICE,

COMBINED WITH THE

MILITARY AND NAVAL ARMAMENTS,

TO PRODUCE THE ENERGY AND SECURITY OF

THE WHOLE NATION,

Roused from its general Torpor by

THE PROSPECTS OF THE DISORDER, PILLAGE, CRIMES, AND ALL THE DESOLATION AND HORROR WHICH, WITHOUT SUCH REGULATIONS, MAY BE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE DETERMINED AND REPEATED

EFFORTS OF FRANCE

TO INVADE

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

SUBMITTED TO

The serious and immediate Consideration of

The Legislatures, the Governments, and the People.

LONDON,

SOLD BY J. OWEN, NO. 168, (OPPOSITE BOND-STREET), PICCADILLY.

1797.

BRITISH MUSEUM

REGULATIONS

OF

PAROCHIAL POLICE, &c.

WHILE Europe has been agitated to its utmoſt extremities by the contending intereſts and diſpoſitions of perſons and parties, who would preſerve its ancient inſtitutions, even in their worſt abuſes—of thoſe who would gradually aſſimilate them to the gradual improvements of man—and of thoſe who would rapidly exchange them for the forms of fancy, or the faultleſs monſters of unexperienced Philoſophy, the inſtitutions themſelves have tottered, and involved, or threat-

ened to involve, the contending parties in desolation and ruin.

The mild dawn of Liberty in France has been succeeded by tempestuous horrors, and complicated miseries, which no human imagination could contemplate sufficiently to describe; and the minds of men, appalled and stunned, have, generally through Europe, associated the evils with the blessing, and dreaded their united approach.

As it is in the nature of inordinate fear to generate the evil it dreads, this association of ideas, totally unallied, produced a perversion of mind, of principles and measures, which has generated, and is likely to generate, in indefinite succession, all the evils it pretended to avert.

On the present occasion, it would not be useful to recur to the origin of this error, or to allot to the parties, designedly or undesignedly contributing

ing to it, their various portions of blame.

The evil, with all its appendages, is approaching our borders; and if our preparations and means of ſecurity be not ſuited to its nature, *juſtly denominated Revolutionary*, we may be ſuddenly hurled into its vortex, and be condemned to repeat the dreadful efforts of France in an abyſs of calamities, which ſhould have afforded us leſſons of wiſdom.

It is not here intended to conſider all thoſe leſſons; but it is intended, ſteadily and ſtrongly, to direct the attention of Britons to their preſent critical ſituation in the REVOLUTIONARY WORLD; and to induce them to mitigate, if not avert, the poſſible and tremendous evils that may ariſe from the attempts of France to invade Great Britain and Ireland.

In the ſcale of error and folly, which idea deſerves the pre-eminence—that of

aſſociating the Governments of Europe againſt the People, or that of aſſociating the People againſt the Governments—is not here a queſtion: and the comparative merits of the Authors of the Convention of Pilnitz, and of the French Decree of Popular Fraternization, muſt be left to the adjudication of Philoſophy and Hiſtory. Thoſe ideas, however, are the genuine principles of a ſeries of Revolutions which menaces all Europe; the firſt of which was ſuperinduced, by ſpirits of kindred origin, though in oppoſite ſyſtems of ſanguinary oppreſſion, on the firſt philoſophic, benevolent plan for the introduction of Liberty in France.—The Manifeſto of the DUKE of BRUNSWICK, and the filthy Edicts of the monſter MARAT, tended, in oppoſite directions, to the ſame point; and the correſponding extremities of Royal and Popular Deſpotiſm moved around a common centre, and formed the true revolu-

revolutionary principle, which in France has drenched with human blood the aſhes of its beſt inſtitutions.

As the ſame principle continues in action; as the voice of Reaſon, or of true Philoſophy, is not heard amidſt the extravagant pretenſions of relentleſs Royaliſm, and of popular Delirium; as one end of the Revolutionary Beam is impending over us; it is of great importance, that we ſhould perceive our ſituation, and be directed to break or to elude its force.

France was invaded by the Combined Powers, *profeſſedly* to enable the KING to recover his Prerogatives; and the Britiſh Dominions are to be invaded by the French, *profeſſedly* to enable the PEOPLE to recover their Rights.

It will be ſeen, that, unleſs we profit by the misfortunes and miſeries of France, the conſequences in both caſes muſt be ſimilar; for both ends of

the Revolutionary Beam are equally diſaſtrous and deſtructive.

France and Great Britain, threatened with invaſion, have acted ſimilarly in military preparations.

On the report that the Emigrants, ſecretly encouraged by the great Powers of Europe, were aſſembling on the borders, four millions of men are ſaid to have taken arms; and they furniſhed National Guards of apparently competent force, Provincial Regiments for internal ſecurity, and Armies formidable from their ſpirit and numbers.

In that ſtate, all danger was ſuppoſed to be external. France repelled and confounded its invaders, and, in the moment of the glorious atchievement, was ingulphed in internal anarchy and deſolation.

No Writer, no Orator, no Stateſman, in the Author's knowledge, has accounted

accounted for the event, but by vague reflections on national volatility, by calumnies on a Philoſophy that never exiſted, inculcating principles of inſubordination, and by falſe imputations of Atheiſm on a People generally religious, and, in its lower orders, the actual perpetrators of its calamities, decidedly and groſsly ſuperſtitious.

France loſt its political faculties, and ſunk into a ſpecies of frenzy; not for want of military force—for that force never appeared in greater vigour than at the inſtitution of the National Guards; not for want of promptitude in its exertion, even to the frequent declaration of Martial Law—for no Deſpot hung out the bloody flag with ſuch frequency in an equal period of dominion as the Commander of the National Guards: yet this evil bore down all reſiſtance, and ſpread rapidly among the People.

The

The Philoſophy of Diſorganization, as it is moſt abſurdly called, and the ſhort efforts of a tranſient faction for the avowal of Atheiſm, which are aſſigned as cauſes, were ſubſequent to the event.

France was diſorganized, or rather brought to the verge of anarchy, when the Populace firſt contended with the National Guards under the terrors of Martial Law, when the inhabitants of the Diſtricts of St. Marceau and St. Antoine dethroned the King, and, with ſouls abſorbed in ſuperſtition, murdered multitudes of impriſoned and defenceleſs Prieſts.

The cauſes, as muſt be ſuppoſed, preceded the events; and they will produce them in every Nation ſimilarly circumſtanced, whatever be its Character, its Philoſophy, or its Religion.

Among the arrangements which form the powers of Political Conſtitutions, ſome

ſome are calculated to repel a foreign enemy, ſome to preſerve internal ſecurity; and in ſituations of peculiar intereſt and danger, they may equally require the poſſeſſion of actual force.

But the nature and diſpoſition of the force may be different; they muſt be eſſentially different in the preſent relative ſituations of Political Societies.

At this time, the Laws of War are the Laws of Nations; and the capacity of internal Order and Peace are ſuppoſed to be commenſurate with the power of external offence, or with the condition of military armaments, which are ſuppoſed as effectually to influence internal as external ſecurity.

But this is one of the many errors which the Revolution of France is calculated to remove.

It has proved, in numerous and dreadful inſtances, that the Armies of a Nation may be victorious, while the Nation itſelf may be convulſed and deſolated;

ſolated; and that, while it may ward off all external injury, it may be corroded, ravaged, and deſtroyed, by internal calamities.

The proviſions for the different objects of external and internal ſecurity are different in the preſent conditions of ſociety; and no prudence or wiſdom can render military armaments competent to all the exigencies of internal Order and Peace.

The Reader may impatiently exclaim, "Shew us the ſources of danger—ſhew "us our internal enemies—ſhew us the "Traitors to their Country—that we "may inſtantly ſacrifice them to the "general ſpirit of indignation and "vengeance."

The Author means to point out the danger, but not to be the miniſter of indignation and vengeance. Nay, he is aſſured that the votaries of thoſe paſſions, though aſſuming the high tones of Virtue and Patriotiſm, are among

among the moſt active and moſt effectual inſtruments of public Diſorder and Calamity.

Look into France, where leſſons are prepared for you, in all the gradations of National Miſery; but look with the ſteady and penetrating eye of Reaſon, if you would be truly inſtructed—and not with the random, furious glance of Prejudice and Paſſion.

When Armies, formed of the beſt Citizens in the lower claſſes, marched to the frontiers, the idle, the lazy, the vicious, were drawn, like floating particles towards a vacuum, into the general centre; and Paris, after ſhe had furniſhed forty thouſand ſoldiers, found her population prodigiouſly increaſed.

Here we may diſcern the origin and nature of JACOBINISM; the diſeaſe of every Country in ſimilar circumſtances, whatever be its military force, and whatever be its philoſophical and religious opinions.

The

The people who crowded Paris, by means of whom the Orleaniſts firſt inſpired the debating Clubs with *the genuine ſpirit of the true Jacobiniſm of every Country*, were not PHILOSOPHERS; they were not *Janſeniſts* or DISSENTERS; they were not REPUBLICANS. If they had any opinions, they were ROYALISTS and CATHOLICS; votaries of Church and King: but in the Provinces, they had been incendiaries and depredators for and againſt the King, for and againſt the Nobles, for and againſt the Prieſts, as the proſpects of plunder had fluctuated before them.

On the firſt preſſure of a foreign enemy, fifty thouſand of the inferior and moſt deſperate collectors of a revenue extorted from miſery, whom the Conſtituent Aſſembly had prudently deſtined for gradual diſmiſſion, were ſuddenly deprived of employment: and as their intercourſe with the numerous hords of ſmugglers and depredators was not always that of enmity, the coalition and de-

termination of thoſe dreadful bodies towards the Capital, furniſhed proper inſtruments for that ſpirit of revenge and atrocity with which the Populace of almoſt every Country, in certain circumſtances, would humble, plunder and deſtroy all the other claſſes.

The ſudden flight of the Nobility and higher Prieſthood, the reſolution of all perſons to attempt the preſervation of property by avoiding the oſtentation of it, threw into the general ſtock of *Jacobiniſm*, a claſs the moſt prolific in numbers and miſchievous reſources, though not the moſt determined in courage or in actual perpetration, THE CLASS OF SERVANTS.

From the Royal eſtabliſhment, to that of the moſt humble private Gentleman, it has been generally obſerved, that the ſervants of the falling families have been their moſt active, perſevering and ſucceſsful enemies; and that the moſt vexatious and afflicting acts of

Jacobiniſm, the diſcovery of friendly retreats, and the conſequences of domiciliary viſits, have been under the direction of pretended Citizens who had been domeſtics*. The fate of CLERMONT TONNERRE, who was maſſacred in conſequence of a ſignal from a cook he had diſmiſſed for diſhoneſty, has been the fate of thouſands, upon whoſe carcaſes the wretches ſtepped into the order and privileges of patriotic Citizens.

Men of ardent paſſions, but of little judgment, exclaim, on theſe occaſions, in the language of national prejudice, or national enmity.

The crimes and atrocities of the French Revolution are called National, only by ignorance and folly. They are evils

* It is not intended to involve this claſs in indiſcriminate cenſure. Many of thoſe ſervants, brought up in families, and called *enfans de famille*, adhered to their maſters, and either participated their fate, or avoided every thing to aggravate it.

evils to which every Nation is liable, and of which every People is ſuſceptible, reduced into a ſimilar condition. They are evils with which Great Britain and Ireland are at this time threatened, and which they can avert only by meaſures of real and comprehenſive wiſdom.

Let us ſuppoſe events analogous to thoſe of France, and completely within the limits of probability—that the attempts of the enemy at invading the Britiſh Iſles, may draw our military forces to the frontiers, and engage them with fluctuating ſucceſſes. On the inevitable ſuſpenſion of Paper Circulation, the coin in uſe would be inſtantly horded by the rich; and no means of general intercourſe in trade remaining, it would be generally ſuſpended. Taxes to Government, as well as private demands, could not be diſcharged: commodities and provi-

ſions, not meeting money at market, would be held back by their proprietors; and ſcarcity, and the apprehenſion of famine, would rouſe a ſpirit of deſperation, eſpecially in the Capital, which would drive from it thoſe who had much to loſe, and all perſons indiſpoſed or incapable of encountering dangers.

This is the ſtate in which all things are aptly prepared for the generation and birth of genuine JACOBINISM; and it requires a mind tutored in Bedlam, to miſtake the materials of which it would be compoſed. What claſſes of the People would be firſt ſubject to deprivations? And who would firſt lead them to violence and depredation? The anſwer will be found in an attentive peruſal of the Hiſtory of France, particularly of Paris, in ſimilar circumſtances. When the Armies quitted the interior, no power was left of ſufficient force to ſupport the Police. The lower orders

of

of the People, at beſt barely obtaining a ſubſiſtence, alarmed by a ſcarcity, and the probability of want, roſe tumultuouſly; and, meeting multitudes of diſcharged domeſtics, and whole claſſes dependent on the Court, the Nobles, the Clergy, and the public Revenue, ſuddenly diveſted of employment; a vaſt maſs was put into dreadful fermentation, by enterpriſing Gamblers, Leaders of Smugglers, and Captains of Banditti; and its genuine production was JACOBINISM.

The ſame cauſes will produce the ſame effects in Britain; and the monſter whoſe lineaments political parties pretend to deſcry in their opponents only, which Deſpotiſm ſees in Liberty, and which Superſtition ſees in Reaſon, will riſe ſpontaneouſly, like a peſtilential vapour, from the amalgamated maſſes of the idle, unemployed, profligate and deſperate inhabitants of the Capital.

Theſe evils occurring naturally in our preſent proſpects—*what is to be done?*

Here France furniſhes a *warning*, but not an *example*. She ſent her generous youth to reſiſt the invading enemy, and left their aged parents and beloved families a prey to robbers, or victims to aſſaſſins*.—She has appeared, throughout the Revolution, a form without a trunk—of gigantic and tremendous force in her limbs and extremities, with a body waſted and torn into atoms by internal diſeaſes.

It is to this evil, the moſt deſtructive and afflicting that can befal human ſociety, the attention of the People and Goverment of the Country is required. Our generous youth may bravely meet the enemy on our ſhores, and may fall with

* At the period of MOREAU's firſt ſucceſſes in Flanders, ROBESPIERRE ſtripped his family of its property, and guillotined his father.

with ſatisfaction, and a ſenſe of real glory, in the defence of their Country: but in conſequence of internal confuſion, age, infirmity, infancy, the timid ſenſibility of their mothers, wives and daughters—in ſhort, every thing valuable, eſtimable and dear, for which they fight and die, may be abandoned to the refuſe of ſociety organized into banditti, and purſuing a deliberate ſyſtem of depredation, revenge and murder, under pretences of political or religious reform, aſſuming the language of wiſdom and virtue, and profeſſing the reſtoration of political equality, or the regeneration of the whole ſociety.

To *prevent* the internal diſorder and calamities which France, in many years, has not been able to *remedy*, it is neceſſary to conſider and to adopt the internal regulations ſhe omitted, and which, to render the whole ſociety ſecure, ſhould embrace the whole ſociety.

It

It is not intended to impeach the wiſdom, or to diſcredit the meaſures of Government, in military and naval preparations. The Author has not ſufficient documents to judge of thoſe meaſures; and his deſire would be, to encourage, not to check them.—But the moſt numerous Armies the finances of the Country can ſuſtain, the Ordinary and Supplementary Militia, and all the bands of Fencibles, Volunteers, &c. which the neceſſary engagements of the induſtrious claſſes will allow from our population, in periods of alarm or of real danger, would leave the general body a prey to internal diſorders.

The body muſt have the power of preſervation *in itſelf*, or it muſt incur the hazard either of ſafety or deſtruction, as events may diſpoſe of its Guardians.

The Executive Power, in obtaining a public force, preſſes on the wills and the

the convenience of individuals, who ſuſtain and bear that preſſure to a certain degree only; and it is happy that ſuch patience is generally and fully commenſurate with the exigencies of the State in the ordinary occurrences of Peace and War.—But when extraordinary events are in proſpect, the Executive Power would be unwiſe, which would truſt wholly to that patience; it ſhould aſſume another ſpecies of policy, and, inſtead of preſſing on the wills of individuals, *engage and intereſt them in the general ſecurity*.

This idea occurred in France, but was not wiſely executed. All the People were permitted to arm, which proved the ſignal of Confuſion, not the means of Security; for they aſſembled *in bands* in all the Provinces, deſerted their ordinary employments, and, having no public appointments, they found it neceſſary to deviſe political

pretences,

pretences, becauſe Politics were the faſhion, for rapine and plunder.

The Regulations here propoſed, while they allow all the armed and embodied troops to meet the enemy on our ſhores, will ſecure the internal order and peace; they take no man from his occupation, admit of no riotous or formidable aſſemblages, and, while attended with no expences which do not ariſe from the choice of individuals, will have an effect on the general ſafety which the whole Revenue of the Country expended in a Standing Army or Military Police could not produce.

It is propoſed, that while the Executive Government defends the Country, EVERY PARISH BE CHARGED WITH ITS OWN SECURITY; and be empowered, by the extenſion of an exiſting law, to regiſter its inhabitants, and their general means of ſubſiſtence; to confine, puniſh, expel, and otherwiſe diſpoſe of all vagabonds; to take cognizance

nizance of the characters and conduct of domeſtics, with a view to important Regulations; to viſit all public and lodging houſes; and to command the perſonal attendance of all houſeholders in forming a Police, without any exceptions from rank, profeſſion or employment, but thoſe ariſing from actual military or public duty requiring abſence, or from atteſted infirmities, and neceſſary or occaſional journeys.

To expand this general idea, and to render it intelligible and practicable, it may be explained in the outline of an Act of Parliament, on which authority alone it ought to be introduced.

" Be it enacted, &c.

" That every pariſh in *

" be charged with a complete reſpon-
" ſibility reſpecting the orderly and
" peaceable conduct of all its inhabi-
" tants; that it be empowered to exe-
" cute

* In ſuch a meaſure, it is ſuppoſed the Legiſlatures of Great Britain and Ireland would concur, without impeaching their relative independence.

" cute this Law, by a Committee,
" elected in a manner hereafter de-
" ſcribed: that, in order to render the
" powers beſtowed on the Committee
" competent to their objects, they ſhall
" ſtrictly be confined to thoſe objects;
" and opinions, civil or religious, aſ-
" certained or ſuppoſed, ſhall be left
" to the Laws and Proviſions already
" made concerning them:—that the
" Pariſh, by its Committee, ſhall re-
" giſter all its inhabitants; and record
" the rank, profeſſion, trade and em-
" ployments of its houſeholders gene-
" rally, or as far only as is neceſſary to
" their object, which is to aſcertain
" their probable means of livelihood:
" —that the inhabitants of houſes let-
" ting lodgings by the year, by the
" half-year, or by the parliamentary
" ſeaſon, and lodgers for thoſe terms,
" be conſidered as houſeholders, and
" their ranks, profeſſions and employ-
" ments regiſtered:—that the land-

" lords

" lords of lodging-houſes, letting lodg-
" ings by the month, by the week, or
" by the night, ſhall be, in reſpect to
" the object of this Law, conſidered as
" landlords of taverns and publichouſes;
" and with the landlords of all ſuch ta-
" verns, coffee-houſes, hotels, and pub-
" lic-houſes of every deſcription, ſhall
" be obliged, under the penalty of
" to enter the name, rank, profeſſion,
" employment, preſent buſineſs, the
" generally propoſed time of reſidence
" in the houſe, &c. of their inmates
" or lodgers; and the Committee, when
" diſſatisfied with the account of thoſe
" lodgers, and having proofs of their
" ill intentions or ill conduct, may
" treat them as vagabonds, and pro-
" ceed as the Laws direct in their ſeve-
" ral caſes:—that houſes in large
" towns, having women of ill-fame,
" ſhall be regiſtered as ſuch, and
" the numbers, not the names of the

" perſons lodging in them, ſhall be
" given in to the Committee.

" That, beſides the Subjects or Citi-
" zens of the community, there is a
" collateral order, called Servants, in-
" corported with all families, and per-
" vading the political body in connec-
" tion with their employers, as the
" ſyſtematic veſſels of the lymph every
" where accompany, affect and influ-
" ence thoſe of the blood: That the
" peace and ſecurity of the Public, as
" well as the happineſs of families, de-
" pending on the regulation of this col-
" lateral, nearly as much as on that of
" the principal order; and the public
" Laws having hitherto but ſlightly no-
" ticed this order, the Committee of
" every Pariſh is hereby empowered
" and particularly enjoined to enforce
" the proviſions of the preſent Law
" reſpecting Servants; and it is enact-
" ed, that under the penalty of
" no perſon ſhall engage, receive,

" diſ-

" diſmiſs, or ſuffer the departure of
" a ſervant, without ſending notice of
" the event, to be regiſtered in a diſ-
" tinct book among the records of the
" Committee, which book may be
" conſulted by any perſon on the pay-
" ment of ſix-pence, and an atteſted
" copy of any article obtained on the
" payment of one ſhilling: that the
" maſter or miſtreſs ſhall give the ſer-
" vant, on his departure, an exact co-
" py of the paper ſent to the Pariſh
" Regiſter; and that no ſervant ſhall
" offer himſelf for ſervice, without pro-
" ducing ſuch paper or card of diſ-
" charge; ſuch omiſſion or diſobedi-
" ence of the Law, on complaint of it
" to the Pariſh Committee, ſubjecting
" the candidate for ſervice to be con-
" ſidered and treated as a vagabond, at
" the diſcretion of that Committee.

" The firſt regiſter of every ſervant
" ſhall be marked as ſuch; the ſecond
" ſhall refer to the firſt; the third to

" the ſecond, &c. to diſtinguiſh the
" wandering ſervants who are truly va-
" gabonds under that name, and to
" prevent the poſſibility of deception
" reſpecting characters, which muſt al-
" ways be obtained from the laſt place;
" and thoſe characters muſt expreſsly
" refer, not only to ſobriety and ho-
" neſty, but to colluſions with tradeſ-
" men, waſtefulneſs, temper, diſpoſi-
" tion and manners.

" And to render theſe regulations of
" important effect to public ſafety, all
" aſſociations and combinations of ſer-
" vants, for the purpoſes of ſupport-
" ing wanderers out of places, or di-
" recting the modes of doing it, at the
" expence of their maſters—of propa-
" gating defamation, of intimidating
" the incautious and indiſcreet among
" their maſters and miſtreſſes—in ſhort,
" all clubs of domeſtics are hereby de-
" clared illegal; and all perſons form-
" ing them liable to arreſt, confine-

" ment

" ment and allotment to the Army or " Navy, at the diſcretion of the Pa- " riſh Committee, with an appeal only " to the Juſtices of the Quarter Seſ- " ſions."

Theſe clubs and aſſociations, communicating with each other, cheriſhing ſyſtems of conſtant, though concealed depredation, and a ſpirit of ſtrong and determined hoſtility to the families that employ their members, are not only the general ſources of thoſe peculiar vices which notoriouſly diſgrace the Police of our Capital*, but are

* A Magiſtrate belonging to the Police of London has lately publiſhed a Treatiſe on the ſubject, which has obtained a little tranſitory attention; juſt as raking together all the filth of any diſtrict would occaſion a ſtrong ſenſation of offence. But he does not trace the origin of its evils, or propoſe an adequate remedy. In the complicated ſtratagems of depredation and thievery he deſcribes, as occupying 100,000 offenders, he only gives the external ſurface or ſcurf of the diſeaſe,

are preparations the moſt formidable and the moſt alarming for the poſſible effects

which lies in the ſyſtem of general colluſion eſtabliſhed by the body of ſervants; which body, in its gradual depravation, has furniſhed, and conſtantly furniſhes, all the claſſes of criminals he has pointed out.

He adviſes a ſtrong Police, in the common ſenſe of the word. The Police has been ſtrengthened, with obvious diſadvantage. If it were furniſhed with powers of equal extent with that of Paris before the Revolution, the effect would be the ſame, *the abſolute deſtruction of every moral principle among the common people*: For, the Police, the Spies, and the Prieſts, attempting to interfere with every thing, the People were wholly employed in evading or deceiving them. No room was left for conſcience, a ſenſe of ſhame, or the cultivation of moral principles; and the Pariſians became, *by means of the Police*, the moſt unprincipled and moſt refinedly wicked of all mankind.—In London, this depravity has been, and is, in rapid progreſſion. Its origin, or the cauſes of that progreſſion, are not known to its Magiſtrates; one of whom, not the leaſt active and intelligent, while keeping the thieves at bay, was driven to live in his kitchen, and to ſerve himſelf, by the impudence and miſconduct of a ſucceſſion of ſervants.

effects of public dangers and public misfortunes:—For, while the laborious husbandman, the industrious tradesman, or the ingenious mechanic, has been driven by distress, or by a ballot, from his occupation and family to the Army or Navy; the indiscretion and vanity of opulent families, have detained around them thousands of robust youth for parade and ostentation, who, by the very customs of their situations, are rendered idle and profligate, many of whom cherish a disaffection to their employers in proportion to the indulgence shewn them; and some of whom, if the events of France be taken as examples, would be the first to betray or to sacrifice them in times of difficulty or confusion.

The intention of these clauses is to separate undeserving from meritorious servants; and act as a timely inducement to the opulent, *gradually to detach into the public service* all those numerous

numerous bands of robuſt and active youth who are the mere retainers of oſtentation and luxury, and who, in the diſpoſitions and habits they cultivate, are the prepared inſtruments of violence in unexpected or ſudden calamities.

Other claſſes of conſiderable importance, but not ſo intimately blended with families, would require the attention of Parochial Committees, to prevent the diſorder that might enſue from ſudden deprivations, by a ſuſpenſion of employment and of pecuniary circulation—the clerks of all offices, the journeymen of all trades, the ſhopmen, porters, and all others dependent on luxury, or on the demands of mere convenience, which, in times of alarm and danger, would be totally diſregarded. They aſſemble at houſes of call; and the powers of the Parochial Committees concerning them, ſhould be, by the above law, ſimilar to thoſe over the clubs or aſſociations of ſervants.

Theſe

Theſe claſſes, and probably others which may here have been overlooked, compriſe, in their nature, the principles of diſorganization and anarchy, on any ſudden and violent concuſſion of the Political Body.

To prevent their operation, is of equal, in ſome caſes of greater importance, than that of an invaſion of a foreign enemy; for the attempts of the latter may not only be defeated, but ſerve as means of union, of removing the miſapprehenſions of parties, and the general correction of public abuſes: but an internal derangement, THE GREAT OBJECT OF THE ENEMY, ſetting afloat in the Capital alone TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND PERSONS, who, to obtain employment and ſubſiſtence, muſt have recourſe to ſome ſpecies of depredation; freeing from reſtraint a hundred thouſand already in the practice of pillage, might *tear up the Community by the roots*, and, acquiring force by

by its progreſs, *plunge the whole Country into deſolation;* for, of all deſtructive and ravenous monſters, the moſt cruel and inſatiable is the unreſtrained Populace of an opulent and corrupt ſociety.

The Parochial Committees ſhould therefore be fully empowered by Law, to oblige every houſeholder, and every lodger of good character and repute, to furniſh himſelf with ſuch arms as his age, his ſtrength, his health, and his circumſtances, will admit of his procuring and managing; and to ſee that no perſons be permitted to bear arms, or to have them in their houſes or apartments, who are not thus required by the Committees, engaged in military ſervice, or in any approved military aſſociations. Houſeholders having male ſervants, ſhould be required to arm thoſe for whom they can be reſponſible, and againſt whoſe character and conduct no juſt complaints are made by tradeſmen and others in their neighbourhood:

bourhood : They muſt not belong to any clubs and aſſociations of domeſtics; and, when armed, they muſt be wholly under the direction of the Committee.

As the object here is *interior* ſecurity, it is not neceſſary the armed Houſeholders, &c. ſhould be regularly drilled; but they ſhould meet at ſhort periods, produce their arms before the Committee, fix the modes of uſing them, go through ſome little exerciſe to acquire their uſe; ſettle the methods and receive cards for occaſional perambulations, ſignals, directions for attention to the eſtabliſhed watchmen and patroles, the uſes to be made of them, &c.

In country Pariſhes, and in thoſe of ſmall towns, the method of executing this plan is ſimple and eaſy.—The Committee may be elected monthly by all the inhabitants, and act as legal and military officers; thoſe above the age of fifty being called Captains, and thoſe under that age being called Lieutenants: the

the elder to be generally employed in deliberation and council—the younger generally in perambulation and action. But in large towns, eſpecially in London, where Pariſhes are extenſive and populous, to aſſemble the inhabitants would probably generate the evil it is intended to prevent. Theſe Pariſhes, therefore, ſhould be taken, as they are divided into Streets, Squares, Rows, Places, &c.; and each of theſe, containing families above the number of fifty, and leſs than a hundred, ſhould meet and elect two Houſeholders, one above and the other under the age of fifty, to be their Repreſentatives in the Parochial Committee, and their Captains and Lieutenants in the duties of Police.—When the Pariſh, as in the caſe of Marybone, is ſo large, that even theſe Deputations may form a Committee too numerous for conſultation and action, it may be divided into Sections or Chapelries; which may have Committees deputed from the Committees

of

of the Sections, at the Pariſh Church, or any other convenient place of aſſembly: for Pariſhes, and Sections of Pariſhes, having Committes, muſt not only, each for himſelf, endeavour to guard the peace, but muſt be aſſociated with others by Deputations from their Committees meeting at ſtated times, and providing for occurrences that may elude or prove too powerful for any ſingle Diviſion. The whole of London and Weſtminſter may be thus divided into Wards, each Ward having a Deputy from each of the firſt Committees. The Council of theſe Wards may depute, each of them, a Member to a CENTRAL COUNCIL OF THE WHOLE CAPITAL, or of all the inhabitants within the Bills of Mortality; which would give union—a capacity of reſiſtance and controul againſt any attempt of INTERNAL INSURRECTION that would endanger the general ſecurity of the Country.

To be ſatisfied of this truth, the Reader is deſired to recollect, that the whole purpoſe of the meaſures here recommended, is *internal ſecurity*; and this purpoſe may be fully accompliſhed, by arming the *reſpectable*, the *honeſt* and the *induſtrious* portions of the People, without forming them into bands, and detaching them from their habitations and employments.

To Government belongs the formation and conduct of Armies, the recruiting of which would be greatly facilitated by parochial regulations, *expelling the idle, lazy, and ill-employed*; forcing the Political Body to throw out on its ſurface all its diſeaſed humours, and leaving its active limbs at liberty to repel the aſſaults of its enemies.

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